

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ROBERT WILMOT HORTON, BART.,

AND

J. B. ROBINSON, Esq.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF UPPER CANADA.

UPON THE

SUBJECT OF A PAMPHLET LATELY PUBLISHED,

ENTITLED

“IRELAND AND CANADA.”

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1839.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS,
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DEDICATION.

To the Members of the Legislature of Upper Canada.

GENTLEMEN,

I TAKE the liberty of dedicating to you this Correspondence, which relates to my late Pamphlet upon "Ireland and Canada ;" I am the more induced to do this as, since it was concluded, I have had the opportunity of reading a Report from the Select Committee of the House of Assembly appointed to report upon the state of the Province of Upper Canada. I perceive that I have the authority of this Report to the following most important point—

"That if there be one matter more than another, which
"the original settlers in Upper Canada feel a deep interest
"in, and desire to promote, it is *Emigration from the British*
"*Islands.*"

After this avowal, I doubt not that you will read this correspondence with interest, and not allow me to remain in doubt as to your opinion upon the details of the proposition which is developed in the following pages.

I have the honour to remain,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

R. WILMOT HORTON.

13, Cavendish Square,
5th June, 1839.

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CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

Spring Gardens Hotel, 24th Feb. 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your pamphlet entitled "Ireland and Canada" has been read by me with attention and with much pleasure. I am happy to find you returning with such perseverance to the important question of Colonization; and I hope you may be at length successful in attracting public attention to it, more decidedly than you have hitherto been able to do.

It may very reasonably be stated, I think, that if, adopting your suggestions when they were first submitted to the public, the Government had entered upon the measure on a liberal scale, and had thrown a loyal hardy population into the unoccupied parts of Lower Canada, it is most probable that the late rebellious movements in that province would never have taken place; and that, to say nothing of other advantages, an immense military expenditure would have been saved to the empire, greater perhaps than would have sufficed to meet the whole charge of settling the emigrants.

I have read Mr. Rubidge's evidence twice, carefully; it seems to me to be sensible, and, so far as I can judge, correct. You could not, I believe, have derived your information from a person more worthy of confidence in every respect. When he speaks of conducting settlers to their lands, locating them on their lots, and supplying them with necessary comforts—and when he describes what they will have to encounter, and what they may reasonably expect in their new situation, he speaks of what he thoroughly understands and knows, from experience, and from a long course of ob-

servation. I have been acquainted with Mr. Rubidge since he first became a settler in Canada, and I know no one in whose candour, integrity, and practical good sense I could place greater confidence. Every one who knows him will tell you the same thing, and it is fortunate that circumstances have thrown him in your way.

If you can gain the favourable attention of the public, after all your labour, and if colonization shall really be undertaken in the spirit and for the purposes recommended in your pamphlet, I hope that great care will be taken to prepare beforehand for the reception of the settlers—that the number to be sent in any year will be known—their place of settlement appointed beforehand, and suitable preparation made for them—and, moreover, that they will be sent over in the proper season of the year. The health, comfort, and contentment of the settlers, and the economy of the measure, will be greatly promoted by observing these points, all of which are adverted to by Mr. Rubidge.

I hope also that the settlers will not be all of one class or country, placed apart from others, but that they will be mixed, so that there will be less chance of unhappy jealousies and distinctions being perpetuated. The settlers sent out in 1823 and 1825 were placed upon lots that happened to be vacant, many of them in townships partly settled, so that, by intermarriage and the general offices of good neighbourhood, they have gradually mixed in the mass of society, and are forming one people, which is favourable to their own happiness, and to the well-being of the colony.

I trust also that some provision can be made which will insure their enjoying religious instruction, according to their respective creeds, by ministers of approved character.

The plan of reserving a portion of the lot to be sold to the settler at the end of a certain time, I have always thought judicious, and I lament that it was not constantly pursued. If the settler had been given a free grant of

seventy acres, after he had resided a certain time upon the land; and if the rear thirty acres of the lot had been kept in reserve for him, to be offered at the end of ten years, at a certain fixed price, the consequences would have been good in every way. On such a plan the settler would get an adequate grant for nothing; and if, from his idleness, or even from misfortune, he should prove unable to avail himself of the right of pre-emption of the thirty acres when the time expired, he would suffer no positive injury; he would only not attain a possible good. In most cases the purchase would be made by the proper person; it could be done with certainty and ease by those who were careful and industrious, except in case of inevitable misfortune, by sickness or other casualty. To fail in making the purchase from improvidence, would incur the reproach of the neighbourhood; and whenever the thirty acres were disposed of, the charge of settling the family, or at least a great proportion of it, would be reimbursed.

You may be assured that you have not expressed yourself too strongly respecting the favourable change in the condition of the poor Irish who were taken to Upper Canada in 1823 and 1825, in consequence of your benevolent exertions. Disposed, as you naturally are, to believe what has been said on this subject to the full extent, yet I am persuaded, if you could visit some of these persons now living on their farms, you would find that you had in fact not formed an adequate idea of the degree to which they had been raised in the scale of comfort and independence, by their being made the subjects of your experiments in colonization. You would find the former tenant of a wretched hovel, without object in life, and almost without power to do anything but mischief, become the absolute proprietor of a hundred acres of land, equal in quality of soil to the park that surrounds your residence, and probably superior, with the advantage in many cases of a living

stream of water, and an abundance of wood of the very best description for fuel ; and this he enjoys, paying no rent, and, it may almost be said with truth, paying no taxes ; for one bushel of wheat, or at most two, will pay the whole amount of his assessment. It is true that to the poor settler the first two or three years are years of hardship ; but not perhaps as compared with his former lot, and certainly not if that assistance is to be given to him which your plan proposes. When these early difficulties are surmounted, and the settler is master of a well-stocked farm, in great part cleared, in a healthy country, and under a mild and just government, is it not evident that his condition is changed from the most miserable perhaps that existed in a civilized country, to one as happy as human life can offer ? For who is happier than an independent farmer, lord of the soil, and reaping the undiminished fruit of his labour ? And it is not merely the greater comfort that is to be regarded, the plenty of wholesome food, the fuel, and warm clothing ; but it is the moral improvement that must accompany the change of circumstances. The head of a family so situated has something in his power, and soon feels that he has duties to discharge ; he is surrounded by many who, with no greater advantages than he possesses, have risen to affluence. There is, in short, much to check him in the indulgence of degrading vices, and everything to encourage in him an honest ambition and pride of character. The results which are witnessed in Canada are most satisfactory. So long as the Irish emigrants remain congregated as labourers on canals, or as dependent paupers in the large towns, crimes are too common among them ; and they are subject to be acted upon by the impulses which it is so easy to give to thoughtless, ignorant multitudes under such circumstances. It is when they become owners of property, with their families living on their farms, and their days occupied in labouring for their own immediate benefit, that the change

in their character takes place ; and though among those who are thus circumstanced crimes are committed, and sometimes of the worst description, yet the same may be said of all communities, and, taken as a whole, the resident Irish agricultural population in Upper Canada are a most valuable class of settlers, and have done credit to the country they came from.

I am glad that it occurred to you to inquire of Sir Francis Head what had been the conduct of the Irish settlers during the late unhappy tumults in Upper Canada, for I am sure it must have given him sincere pleasure to bear testimony in their favour, as he has done. Their conduct was excellent ; and I have often regretted that it did not seem to attract, in this country, such particular notice as it certainly deserved. There was something remarkable, and most honourable, in the whole bearing of the Irish population throughout these troubles ; and I have no doubt it continues to this hour, when the danger that threatens Upper Canada is of another and more formidable description. In the winter of 1837-8 the population generally behaved well ; there were numerous examples of men of every origin—English, Scotch, and natives of the province, and some who had come from the United States of America—doing everything that could be done by them in defence of their country ; but I think it was universally felt throughout the province that the conduct of the Irish, as a body, was pre-eminently good. They seemed not only to acknowledge promptly their obligation to support their government and the laws, but they discharged their duty with an eager forwardness, and a fine hearty warmth of feeling, that it was really quite affecting to witness. Hundreds of these poor fellows came at the first summons, from remote settlements, in the depth of winter, half clothed, without other arms than hoes, pitchforks, axes, or clubs ; and, in order to reach the seat of government, which they heard was attacked, they had to pass through the rich old settlements

of the very persons who, under the influence of a feeling hardly to be credited or accounted for, had abandoned their homes and taken up arms against their Sovereign. These people had lived in one of the very finest parts of Upper Canada, and had enjoyed, for thirty years, the protection of good laws and a mild government; compared with the rugged wilderness these poor Irishmen came from, the land they inhabited is like the Garden of Eden: and to see these faithful emigrants pouring in from the woods to support the government against the wicked attempts of the others, was a spectacle really affecting. It did honour to Ireland, and it showed that, whatever may be the vices and errors inherent in the Irish peasantry, hatred of their Sovereign, and ingratitude to their government, are not among the number.

It makes us feel powerfully that they must, in Ireland, owe their misery and their misconduct (when they do act amiss) to some peculiarly unfortunate circumstances, springing from the past history of their country, or in some way attributable to their condition *there*; and, if their government and their fellow-subjects could, by any exertion, rescue them from their present state of destitution, they are worthy of the effort it would cost, and would be found grateful.

Pray, in your details, do not be tempted to assume too low an estimate of the expense attending the sending out and settling of a family. The good economy of the measure, as one of relief to the country from whence they are to be sent, is so unquestionable, that it would be a pity to starve the measure and make the poor people less comfortable, by trying to avoid any necessary expense.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours, most faithfully,

The Right Hon.

J. B. ROBINSON.

Sir R. W. Horton, Bart.

&c. &c. &c.

Sudbrook Park, Petersham,

25th May, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

In your most valuable practical letter of the 24th Feb. you tell me "that you hope I may at length successfully attract public attention to the subject of Emigration more decidedly than I have hitherto been able to do;" I cannot share that hope in the *smallest degree*. I have given the most ample challenge to the Legislature that if there is *any* one individual who questions the *accuracy* of Mr. Rubidge's statement, he has only to move for a Select Committee, and to examine him on those points that appear to him as doubtful. If, on the contrary, the evidence of Mr. Rubidge is unimpeachable as to the state of the pauper colonists of 1823 and 1825, what are the truths that are no longer *to be denied*? Why this truth is clear that this great country, which advanced twenty millions of money to wipe away the stain of slavery from its Statute Books, has it in its power to remove utterly pauper and penniless agricultural Irish to the shores of our North American dominions, and to plant there those persons for whose labour a fair and voluntary market is *not* at once offered, for an infinitely less sum than is required as the fixed capital for the mere *support* and sustenance, at the lowest rate of human food, of these destitute Irish in their own country. After reflecting upon the moral experiments which have so successfully been made, is not this an inquiry *worthy* of the British Parliament? Is it not worth while to inquire whether if supposing 200,000 Irishmen, 200,000 Irish women, and 600,000 children were to be successfully located in British North America for the sum of twelve millions sterling, the consequence of such a well-conducted Government location would not be the voluntary and comparatively unexpensive following of three times as many individuals who would be wanted as labourers by these located colonists? Is it not

worth while to analyze the means which exist for transmuting the horrible and unendurable poverty of Ireland into the vigour and prosperity of our North American territorial possessions? Is it possible to suppose that the Legislature would *answer* that it is far better that Irishmen and their wives and families should die in hopeless destitution in their own ditches, than that the trouble and nausea of a serious inquiry should be undertaken. I enclose you the following article which has just appeared in the 'Dublin Evening Post':—

“ COLONIZATION

“ IRELAND AND CANADA.—SIR R. W. HORTON.

“ We are one, amongst his many friends, who welcomed the return of Sir Wilmot Horton from his government of Ceylon, in health and honour, not only on account of the many estimable and amiable qualities of the Right Honourable Gentleman—but publicly, inasmuch as his great talents, directed by an indomitable and enduring zeal in the cause of Colonization, are at this crisis especially required for the promotion of the great object with which his name is identified. Long before the Catholic Relief Bill—of which, it need not be said, Sir Wilmot Horton was a strenuous advocate—long before Reform—the discussion upon which, happily for himself, perhaps, the Right Honourable Gentleman escaped—and long before the introduction of Poor Laws into Ireland—a measure, the immediate working of which will, we think, render Emigration indispensable, we hope inevitable—he had rendered himself the conspicuous assertor of the policy, the humanity, and the necessity of the measure. Nearly ten years have passed since he challenged attention to the subject, by his writings and his public addresses, as well in Parliament as before the mixed audiences of London assemblies. He had many difficulties to struggle with, much ignorance to dissipate, and, what was more discouraging, he had to contend against the apathy of public men, and the indifference of the public masses. But he never swerved, he never tired, he never surrendered his doctrine in despair. He brought with him to India his convictions

in unabated strength, and has brought them home to England in a vigour reinforced by study and experience.

"Ten years, we say, have elapsed since he set about the honest and useful work to which he has devoted his best faculties; and, although the public, since that time, have fully, we imagine, come round to his doctrines, yet little has been done, until within the few last years, to carry the principle into operation—and that little, with an exception to which we may hereafter refer, has been very wretchedly done, indeed. It is impossible, after reading Lord Durham's report, to deny that not only the officers of the Government—a matter likely to occur under the best devised schemes—but the Government itself have been guilty of the grossest and most cruel mismanagement in the transmission, treatment, and location of the Emigrants. Read, for instance, the melancholy, the harrowing history of the poor old soldiers, who were induced to commute their pensions for certain acres of forest in the wilderness. Read the statement made by that noble lord—a statement which no one will venture to impugn—of the miserable and perishing Irish Emigrants thrown in thousands on the banks of the St. Lawrence, without any previous arrangement whatever having been made for their reception, their sustenance, or their distribution. But if the reader have no time or opportunity to wade, as we have done, through the bulky folios in which the official statements are to be found, let him take up the light and agreeable volumes of Mrs. Jameson, the latest writer, we believe, on the subject, and he will find enough to excite his surprize at the blindness of those who ought to know better, and his indignation at their apparent heartlessness.

"But the period from 1830 to 1839 has been one of fierce domestic struggle. Emancipation was carried—but then came the French Revolution of July—the Insurrection in Belgium—the Revolt of the Poles—the Resignation of Wellington—Lord Grey and Reform—Revolution in the English Poor Laws—the Repeal Agitation in Ireland—the Tory Interregnum—Tithes and the Irish Church—the Defeat of Sir Robert Peel—the return of the Whigs to Office—the Irish Poor Law and the Irish Corporations—the constant and balanced struggle, still going on—the close divisions in the Commons—the anti-Government majority in

the Lords—the death of two successive Sovereigns, differing from each other in principle, as well as in disposition—and the accession of a third. These events have kept, and are still keeping the public mind in a state of excitement, and were more than sufficient to occupy the successive Governments for the last ten years on domestic as well as upon European questions.

“The time has come, however, *the time is now*, when the attention not only of the Government, but the people, must be called imperatively to the subject of Emigration, or—for we prefer the word—to Colonization. Though England have greater and more wealthy Colonies than any other nation—though she may be justly described as almost the only Colonizing Nation in the world—it is a fact, that no nation, until within the last *very* few years, has bestowed less attention on the principles of Colonial Policy. We cannot afford space or time to proceed to an induction of particulars with a view to corroborate and prove this proposition. She is now, however, happily, we think, for the interests of her own people—nay, of the human race—compelled to turn her attention to the subject. The condition of her greatest Continental Colony—greatest, at least, in respect to comparative proximity and population, Lower Canada—the condition of the Upper Province, also, stretching along the active and energetic State of New York, imperiously require her to change her system, if she would retain her dominions. But the state of the rural population of Ireland, and of the manufacturing population of England, not to mention the field labourers of the latter, who are sinking fast into the condition of the Irish serf, should supply, if possible, a more stringent motive to her exertions—to the *immediate* commencement of a scheme of imperial and enlightened policy, by which the Colonies may be secured in comfort and loyalty—and the Mother Country, and the people thereof, relieved from a population for whom there can be neither sufficient work, nor a sufficiency of food found at home.

“The necessity of securing Canada by Colonization on a great scale, has been amply demonstrated in Lord Durham’s report, and it is not a little honourable to Sir Wilmot Horton, that his pamphlet, written before the publication of his Lordship’s volume, and without any communication with him whatever, supplies an

a priori demonstration of the political truths in the late Governor-General's report. With regard to the Mother Country—the working of the Corn Laws in England and of the Poor Laws in Ireland have rendered an immediate remedy for evils—the advent of which may be distinctly described even by the most obtuse vision—absolutely, imperatively indispensable. It is under an urgent conviction of the necessity of applying these remedies that Sir Wilmot Horton has published the *brochure* to which we have referred at the commencement of these observations.

“We shall hereafter lay some extracts from this publication before the reader—observing, by the way, that with whatever indifference, as Sir Wilmot Horton observes, his theories and his facts were received nine years ago—the sentiment has totally changed. People's eyes are now open to the advantages—or, as we contend—to the *necessity* of such measures as are recommended in the writings of this gentleman.”

I feel personally most obliged to the Editor for the justice which he has done me. I can only hope that *he is right*, and that the eyes of the public are now open to the advantages, he adds, necessity, of such measures as those to which I have called the attention of the public; and which call he has most impressively supported. Mr. Senior has recorded the opinion in his most valuable article in the ‘*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*’—

“If any European nation could hope to make Emigration a complete substitute for prudence, that hope might be entertained by the inhabitants of the British Islands.

“We have the command of unoccupied Continents in each hemisphere—the largest Navy that the world ever saw to convey us to them—the largest Capital that ever has been accumulated to defray the expense—and a Population remarkable, not merely for enterprize, but for enterprize of this particular description.

“These advantages we have enjoyed for centuries; almost from the times of the Tudors we have possessed a large outskirts of Empire far exceeding in extent our European possessions. And yet, during this long period, how little effect has emigration pro-

duced on our numbers! The swarms which we have sent out, and which we now send out, seem to be instantaneously replaced.

"We have founded one Empire, and probably shall found many; but, after once a Colony has been planted, its principal increase arises, not from the comparatively scanty recruits whom it receives from home, but from the unrepressed force of human fecundity."

Let us look for a moment at the miserable state of pauperized Ireland, and contrast the condition of many of her sons with that of the prosperous and happy colonists of 1823 and 1825, located in Upper Canada, as described by the faithful testimony of Lieutenant Rubidge, confirmed as it has been by yourself. Let us consider the value of these colonists as adding to the strength and riches of the province of Upper Canada, and then let me enquire if it is beneath the dignity of the Legislature to take the pains of inquiring into such subjects, and to stamp the seal of parliamentary authority upon such inquiry as it may deserve? Why, such is the apathy of the Legislature, that no Member of either House thinks it worth while to *take the trouble* of moving for a return of the estimated present property of these emigrants of 1823 and 1825!

Possessed since the year 1825 of ample and economical means of placing the surplus population of Ireland in great prosperity,—means, be it remembered, not founded upon theoretical speculation, but upon practical experiment, this nation has wilfully neglected all those means, and Ireland has in consequence remained in a state of misery and anarchy. Knowing, as I well do, that whatever may be the advantages to be obtained by Ireland on the one hand, and by the British North American provinces on the other, by the most judiciously contrived scheme of emigration, the people of this country would be indisposed to entertain the subject *for a moment*, if they thought it was to be attended by any sort of permanent expense, I submit

a plan for your consideration, minutely pointing out in what manner I think such an experiment could be realized without permanent expense. In that plan the conduct of the local Legislatures of the British North American provinces, more especially that of the Legislature of Upper Canada, is necessarily involved.

If the calculation of Mr. Rubidge be correct, of which I do not entertain the smallest doubt, a million of persons may be colonized in the British North American provinces for the sum of twelve millions sterling, at the rate of twelve pounds per head, taking the proportions as one man, one woman, and three children, for each family of five individuals, for which number 60*l.* must be paid.

Taking the funds at their present price, this sum of twelve millions may be raised by a long annuity for 40 years, at the rate of 2*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for each 60*l.* advanced by the lenders; consequently, the whole twelve millions may be raised for a long annuity of 537,480*l.*

How then is this long annuity to be re-imbursed to the British Government, so as, in point of fact, to impose no fresh expense upon the British public? My answer is, that the landowners, clearing their estates of surreptitious population, (as it has been called,) are to be required to pay the *whole annuity* of 537,480*l.* for the first seven years, at the rate of 2*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for every family of five as above explained. The colonists, after the expiration of this payment, and having their land gratis for this interval of the period of seven years, are to be called upon to pay the same interest charge of 2*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for every family of five persons who may be colonized, for the remaining 33 years; this debt, which is to be chargeable upon their respective properties, may at any time be paid off upon an equitable principle of purchase to be laid down, and such payment will at once give them the fee-simple of their separate lots

of land, which, until that purchase, will be charged with an annuity of 2*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* for a period of 33 years after the same payment has ceased from being made in Ireland, as already explained.

If this annuity interest be received from the colonists, *not* as rent of land, but as *interest* on capital borrowed to make land more early productive, the whole annuity can be paid into the King's chest, and from thence can be transferred to the treasury in England.

Under these circumstances the following most important questions present themselves, which I beg to put directly to you as an individual unequivocally competent to give most satisfactory answers.

First. Are you of opinion that there would be any important practical difficulty in obtaining this annuity interest from the colonists proposed to be located, and who are to possess their land gratis for the term of seven years from the period of their colonization?

Secondly. Are you of opinion that the local Legislatures, especially the Legislature of Upper Canada, feeling the inestimable benefit of this increase of duly colonized population, would give all the assistance in *their power*, in receiving this annuity from the located parties, and in transferring it to the mother country?

I remain,

Yours, very faithfully,

R. WILMOT HORTON.

To Chief-Justice Robinson,

&c. &c. &c.

29, *Half-Moon Street, Piccadilly,*

MY DEAR SIR,

28 May, 1839.

I have carefully perused your letter of the 25th instant, in which you explain the means by which you think emigration from Ireland to Canada might be promoted upon a very extensive scale, to the great advantage of the Mother Country and of the Colony.

Your proposition is, that the expense of removing and locating the emigrants, which you estimate after the rate of £60 for a family, consisting of one man, one woman, and three children, shall be defrayed, in the first instance, by the British Government—that the funds shall be obtained by a loan upon Government security, which you conceive may be raised upon such terms that an annuity of £2 13s. 9d. for 40 years, will pay off the £60 borrowed for the removal and settlement of the family as above estimated; and you propose that this Annuity shall, for the first seven years, be paid by the proprietors whose estates are to be relieved by the removal of the emigrant, and for the remaining 33 years by the emigrant himself, unless he shall, within the period, redeem the Annuity by paying its fair value.

This being your proposition, I am asked by you, 1st,—Whether I am of opinion that there will be any important practical difficulty in obtaining this Annuity from the Colonists, who are to receive their lands gratis, and to hold them free of any payment, for the term of seven years from the period of their Colonization?

2d.—Whether I am of opinion that the local Legislatures, especially the Legislature of Upper Canada, feeling the inestimable benefit of this increase of population, would give all the assistance in their power, in receiving this annuity from the located parties, and in transferring it to the Mother Country?

As to the first question, there is no doubt in my mind that the settler would willingly undertake to pay the annuity as the condition of his being removed to Upper Canada, and receiving a gratuitous grant of land there, together with such other assistance as it is proposed by you to give him. I have no doubt either that he would be able to make the payment with ease, commencing at the end of seven years from the time of his settlement. It is prudent, however, to consider that although the emigrant may be willing to undertake the annual payment, and quite able to continue it till the whole debt is liquidated, yet it is not certain that he will not become impatient of what he may, however erroneously, regard as a tax. I rather apprehend, indeed, that the settler or his descendants might indulge the hope that the Crown would not rigidly exact the payment, and they might neglect to make it, under the impression that harsh measures of compulsion would not be resorted to. It has been generally found that the most trifling quit-rents reserved by the Crown in the colonies are paid with reluctance, and are apt to give rise to unkindly feelings towards the government. Of course, it will be strictly necessary to explain to the colonist, before he decides upon leaving his own country, that this annuity repayment must be considered by him as the repayment of money personally lent to him for his individual interest. And if care be taken to state this explicitly in writing, and to obtain the assent of the settler to the condition, under his hand, the probability of such objections being made, as I have stated, would be much lessened; and if they should be made, it would be most apparent that there could be no justice in them. Any individual settler going to Canada, without the assistance of government, would find it necessary under the existing regulations to pay a valuable consideration for his land before he could obtain a grant of it, and

the instalments would not be arranged in a manner that would leave them to be so lightly felt as they would be under the proposed plan.

Secondly. Upon the other question I have to state that it would be rather rash in any person to pretend to foretell precisely, and with absolute certainty, what the Legislature of the province would do upon this or any other subject; since all Legislative bodies are occasionally actuated by motives and circumstances which are not within the range of ordinary calculation. But while I say this, I do not feel the slightest doubt that your plan would receive from the Legislature every countenance and support which it may be in their power to bestow. Whatever facilities could be given by any reasonable application of their authority, I fully believe would be most readily and gladly extended, whether you should require their aid for ensuring the more certain and regular payment of the annuity, or for transmitting the money to this country. You may safely entertain the persuasion that there is no one public object which the people of Upper Canada and the Legislature feel a stronger desire to promote than an extensive emigration from the mother country. It adds at once to the value of property in the province, furnishes employment to mechanics, provides labourers for the farmers, and infuses life and activity into every department.

The years of 1830-1-2-3 and 4, were years of unexampled prosperity in Upper Canada, because in those years the number of emigrants resorting to the province was very great. The cessation of late years has been universally regretted, and you may be assured that if you can succeed in making the current again flow, you will restore public confidence and prosperity, and will give not merely an apparent but real security to the colony, at a time when it is especially required.

In looking to co-operation on the part of the Legislature of Upper Canada, it will not be forgotten that any legal provisions which may be thought desirable should be suggested to them in time, in order that their enactments may be all prospective, and, in that respect, free from any ground of exception on the part of the settler. And it is also necessary to bear in mind that the first step in the execution of any extensive plan of settlement, intended to be applied to Upper Canada, must be the ascertaining precisely where the emigrants can be located, and in what numbers, so that everything may be arranged and understood before they leave their own country.

I remain, my dear Sir Robert,

Yours, very faithfully,

J. B. ROBINSON.

The Right Hon.

Sir R. W. Horton, Bart.

13, Cavendish Square, 3rd June, 1839.

My dear Sir,

If reference be made to the Report of the Emigration Committee for 1827, it will be perceived that eleven colonial witnesses of competent authority entirely concurred with you, that a settler located upon the principles of the Emigrations of 1823 and 1825, could and would undertake to pay annuity interest for the capital sum advanced to him, such annuity interest being then estimated very considerably higher than what is now proposed. If the legislature and the public had at that time chosen to give credit to the witnesses examined before the committee, there need not have been a single able-bodied permanent pauper throughout the United Kingdom at the present moment. Perfect scepticism as to

matters of fact is a cheap and easy mode of argument, but it is not a principle under which new nations are likely to prosper. But what is even worse than scepticism, is absolute and entire apathy. I was not content with the opinions of colonial witnesses alone, however valuable, but I sent printed questions to the settlers themselves, all of whom answered in the affirmative as to the disposition and competency of settlers duly colonized to repay the capital advanced for their colonization. The most minute particulars are to be found on this point in the pamphlet lately published by me, entitled "Ireland and Canada," &c. This pamphlet, I need not inform you, contains the valuable evidence of Mr. Rubidge, a practical settler, to whose competency and fidelity you yourself have paid the most just and forcible tribute. I was so convinced that the testimony of Mr. Rubidge must produce an impression upon the public mind, and that it deserved to possess the sanction of Parliamentary authenticity, that I resolved to address a letter to Lord Wharncliffe, as Chairman of the Irish Crime Committee, which letter was expressed in the following words.

(COPY.)

*Sudbrook Park, Petersham,
29th March, 1839.*

MY LORD,

I presume to address your Lordship as Chairman of the Lords' Committee on the state of Ireland. In the first instance I beg you to do me the favour of accepting a pamphlet lately published by me, entitled "Ireland and Canada."

I send you this specially to call your Lordship's attention to the evidence of Mr. Rubidge, which you will find contained from pages 37 to 72 inclusive.

This examination was carried on by me precisely upon

the same principles which Parliamentary Committees employ in the examinations in chief of witnesses.

If your Lordship will do me the favour of referring to pages 73 and 74, you will find a sort of appeal which I have made to Members of both Houses of Parliament—which appeal has, I regret to say, been utterly fruitless; and your Lordship would not have been troubled by me upon this occasion, were it not for the fact that Mr. Rubidge has informed me of the probability of his early return to Canada, unless he should be detained by the prospect of an examination before a Committee of one of the Houses of Parliament.

I am most unwilling that Mr. Rubidge should leave this country without having the accuracy and truth of his opinions sifted by the process of a Parliamentary Committee.

With respect to the value of Mr. Rubidge as an evidence, I beg to refer your Lordship to the enclosed letter which I received from Chief Justice Robinson, of Upper Canada. It is my ultimate intention to publish this letter, together with my answer to it.

The main object of their Lordships' Committee, I understand to be to inquire into the state of crime in Ireland; and when the Committee find, in the course of their inquiry, as I am persuaded they will, that one principal cause of the frequency of crime in Ireland is the destitution occasioned by a superabundance of population, and when they reflect that this evil admits of a certain remedy, by means of a judicious system of colonization, which would at the same time confer incalculable benefit upon our colonies,—then I cannot but think that the subject will appear to the Committee to possess sufficient interest to command their attention.

If, then, it should be your Lordship's intention, as Chairman of the Irish Committee, to favour the examination of Mr. Rubidge before the Committee, I shall feel much gra-

tified if you will condescend to inform me upon the subject, that I may communicate with Mr. Rubidge himself before I leave England for France, which I do on Wednesday nig't next, the 3d of April.

A letter, addressed to me by the 3rd inst. post, so as to reach me at Sudbrook Park, Petersham, by Tuesday evening, will be in time.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) R. WILMOT HORTON.

The Lord Wharnccliffe,

&c. &c. &c.

I addressed a subsequent letter to Lord Wharnccliffe, which it is not worth while to record. To these letters I received the following answer:—

Curzon Street, 29th May, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,

I have consulted with other Members of the Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland in respect of crime, upon the subject referred to in your letters of the 29th March and 24th May, 1839, and they entirely agree with me in thinking that that subject does not come within the scope of the reference under which we are prosecuting our inquiries, although there can be no doubt of its importance in every point of view.

I am, my dear Sir Robert,

Ever yours faithfully,

WHARNCLIFFE.

Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Bart.

It is not for me to presume to offer any protest against the decision of the Committee; but I beg leave to return my personal and public thanks to Lord Wharncliffe for an admission which, as far as I know, has not been made lately by any Member of either House of Parliament, namely, that "THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT OF ITS IMPORTANCE IN EVERY POINT OF VIEW."

Finding that my publisher, Mr. Murray, with all his zeal and kindness, had not been enabled to sell more than 38 copies of the history of the prosperous destiny of the Irish Government Emigrants of 1823 and 1825, contained in "Ireland and Canada," and supported by the evidence of Mr. Rubidge, I have withdrawn all copies of that pamphlet from him, that they might no longer encumber his table, and I herewith beg to place them in your hands for dissemination in Canada, where a real interest will prevail upon the subject. With respect to the fact of that interest, I should not have doubted it before, but it was more than confirmed by your letter of the 28th ultimo.

The Emigration Committee of 1827 has the following passage:—"The class of emigrants which your Committee contemplate as those which shall have a prior claim to Government assistance are—1st. Irish tenants, who have been ejected from small farms under the operation of clearing the property, which is now taking place as part of the national system in Ireland. 2ndly. Those tenants who are upon the point of being ejected, but whose ejectment has not actually taken place. 3rdly. A class which, perhaps, can hardly be included under the name of tenant—the cottiers, who occupy a cabin with an extremely small portion of land, and who, unless they can obtain employment, have no means of paying their rent. 4thly. Cases in England and Scotland, which must be made matter of special reference to whatever authorities may direct the course of emigration."

I think that no fair man, who reads their correspondence, can doubt that the miserable victims of this inevitable process of ejectment, who have suffered untold misfortunes since the year 1827, might have been, one and all, removed to a state of prosperity in Canada, and that without the permanent loss of a single farthing to the country. This effect would have been produced had the legislature condescended to divert a few hours from the consideration of political amelioration to that of practical improvement and the direct augmentation of human happiness.

Were recommendations wanting to this effect springing from Irish bosoms? Certainly not. Read the following passage, which is to be found in the Parliamentary documents of this country for the year 1827, written by Irish Government emigrants of the years 1823 and 1825 :—

“ Above all, we rejoice that, in this happy country, we are still under the Government of our illustrious Sovereign, to whose sacred present Government we beg to express the most unfeigned loyalty and attachment. We beg most respectfully to add, that we cherish the hope that more of our unfortunate and suffering countrymen, at no distant period, may, by means of the same generous feeling, be brought to share the blessing we enjoy.”

Contrast this passage with the following description of the state of similar persons in their own country, by the late Bishop of Limerick :—

“ They were in the most deplorable state, *without house, without food*, without money, starving and almost dying in the ditches. I saw an affecting memorial on their part, praying that the proprietor, on whose estate they had been, would procure for them the privilege and means of emigration. They had, to my knowledge, been exemplary in peaceableness amidst surrounding disturbances; but

"from want perhaps of power rather than will, their petition was not granted. I ventured to predict, that if they were not in some way relieved, the consequences in winter would be dreadful—and so they were—**BLOOD FOLLOWED, after-wards prosecutions, convictions, executions.**"

Is it possible to suppose that any Irishman, whose heart is not entirely seared, can read these contrasted statements without some feeling approaching to sympathy? Why, with such a cheap remedy as the Irish emigrants propose, has this wretched system been allowed to go on from the year 1827 to the present moment? I well know the cause, and if I had a seat in Parliament I would state it. Being anxious to know whether the loyalty of the Irish emigrants in Canada, quoted above, had continued to the present time, I had a correspondence with Sir Francis Head directly upon the subject.* Sir Francis Head answered me in the affirmative: he informed me that the settlers to whom I had alluded were among those who, upon a late occasion, marched at once from the Newcastle district, in the depth of winter, nearly 100 miles, to support the Government. For this patriotic gallantry Sir Francis Head thanked them; to which expression of thanks they replied, "**THAT THEY WERE DOING WELL IN THE WORLD—THAT THEY FELT GRATEFUL TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—AND THAT THEY HAD COME TO FIGHT FOR THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION!**"

Now, let me turn to the Irish view of the question, properly so called. If an Irish landlord has upon his estate 50 men, 50 women, and 150 children, being either surreptitious tenantry, or able-bodied men incapable of finding work, these parties cannot be maintained for less than 2*d*.

* This correspondence was published "in extenso," both in my pamphlet "On the Irish Catholic Oath," as well as that of "Ireland and Canada."

per day each, and that under extreme circumstances of misery and degradation.

The annual expense, therefore, of the maintenance at home of these unemployed parties at the above rate would be 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* Now let us see what the annual expense would be for the colonization of these parties, according to the principles laid down in this correspondence, and assented to by you. It is as follows: these same 250 persons might be colonized, and themselves and families made happy and independent, by the payment of an annuity, on the part of the Irish landlord, of 134*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, instead of 760*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, being an annual difference of 626*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

It will be remembered that I only proposed that the Irish landlord should pay this annuity for the space of the first seven years. My reason for this limitation is simply this, that my own judgment is satisfied that the Irish colonist himself, for whose more immediate benefit a capital of 60*l.* has been borrowed, would be both willing and able to pay this annuity for the remaining period required to liquidate the entire debt.

It would be satisfactory to all persons interested in this subject to know that Mr. Rubidge, who has had no opportunity of recording his evidence before Parliament, is now practically employed in conducting across the Atlantic a body of emigrants, Irish settlers, with the intention of ultimately planting them in Canada: he is enabled to do this by the munificent and discreet generosity of Colonel Windham, of Petworth, who is following up, in the happiest manner, the conduct of the late Earl of Egremont, upon the subject of Emigration—to whose memory be eternal honour.*

* Any person desirous to know the details of what may be called Lord Egremont's Emigration has only to apply to Messrs. Longman and Co., for a Letter addressed by the Rev. T. Socket to a Member of Parliament, and which most amply deserves to be read by every Member of either House.

Mr. Socket, to whom my note below refers, explains that the object which the Petworth Committee have had in view, and which they have laboured hard to promote, is, "to remove from the minds of persons of all classes, the notion that emigration to Canada is a banishment; and to cherish the idea, that it is only a *removal* from a part of the British empire, where there are more workmen than there is work to be performed, to another—a fertile, healthy, and every way delightful portion of the same empire—where the contrary is the case."

Would that there was not a parish in Great Britain or Ireland, but where the same doctrines were inculcated! Doctrines of a precisely opposite nature are inculcated with great zeal,—for example, the author of "An Outline of a System of Colonization," in his anxiety to raise his own views, and to depress mine, has thought fit to assert, in reference to the Government emigrants of 1823 and 1825, and by way of proving that they were experiments which failed, and that it was impossible to colonize prosperously paupers in masses, that "The poor ignorant, imprudent land-owner had sunk under his troubles; his land has passed away to the dealer in rum; and the wages of labour near him being very high, he has returned to his proper condition of a labourer for hire."

Let those who read Mr. Rubidge's evidence and this correspondence pronounce whether the above allegation be true or false—let them pronounce whether, in their opinion, it be politically or pecuniarily desirable to themselves that the emigrant settlers of 1823 and 1825 should return to the condition of "a labourer for hire?" But above all I appeal to the honour of the legislature of Upper Canada for the public refutation of this charge, which has been so industriously disseminated.

The late Mr. Malthus, one of the most able and en-

lightened, but most misrepresented, men, shared my opinions entirely upon the subject of Emigration,—unequivocally so with respect to the advantage to be received by the colonies. With respect to the home advantage, he always appeared to me to entertain a dread of the vacuum being filled up—a dread which I could never share, for reasons which it would be extraneous to introduce here.

On the 9th of June, 1830, he writes to me, “ Could you “ indeed accomplish emigration in an entirely unobjection- “ able manner (that is, without any danger of the vacuum “ being filled up), you would, in my opinion, be the greatest “ benefactor to the human race that has yet appeared.” The opinion of such a man as Mr. Malthus ought certainly to repay me for twenty years of continued labour, and for the contemptuous apathy of Parliament and the public. For myself, I would not wish another epitaph to be placed on my tomb than the opinion expressed of my exertions in the cause of humanity, in a letter addressed to me in 1831 by Dr. Birkbeck, the able and benevolent President of the London Mechanics’ Institution.

“ With respect to emigration and colonization, so ably “ and systematically advocated by you, I have indeed for “ some time held opinions similar to your own. These opi- “ nions, however, have been much strengthened and enlarged “ by the privilege, which I have lately enjoyed, of partaking “ privately, and along with my fellow-members of the Me- “ chanics’ Institution, of your more ample and matured “ knowledge of these ill-appreciated measures. For many “ years I had been accustomed to look upon remission of “ taxation, or diminished expenditure, and a reform of the “ representation, as infallible means for producing national “ amelioration: I now know, that if these improvements “ should be effected in the most effectual manner, they will “ not obviate the pressing, urgent wants, which have consti-

"tuted, and at this moment do constitute, our most severe
 "difficulties. Excess of population, absolute and relative,
 "is the occasion of our recent and immediate oppression :
 "an excess the result of peace, and the improvement of the
 "arts (of the arts of medicine particularly) and of machinery,
 "the noblest gifts of genius to man. Of its occurrence, pro-
 "ceeding in a great measure, as I believe, from the opera-
 "tion of natural laws, and therefore inevitable, I do not pre-
 "sume to complain ; especially as I see a remedy provided,
 "at once natural and delightful ; relieving the country in
 "which even civilized, instructed man becomes a burden,
 "and transferring him to regions, prepared by their salu-
 "brity, fertility, and want of inhabitants,—and to such re-
 "gions alone should the excess be kindly and carefully
 "transferred,—for receiving the labour and skill which may
 "happen to be redundant : thus converting them at once
 "into blessings of permanent and immeasurable value."

Believe me,

My dear Chief Justice,

Yours, very truly,

R. W. HORTON.

Chief Justice Robinson,

&c. &c. &c.

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